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THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

By G. A. S. Northcote.

101 The Nilotic Kavirondo, or Jaluo as they should more properly be called, who inhabit the north-eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, belong to the same family as the great Dinka tribe of the Soudan and are near relations of the Aluri and Acholi tribes which live on both sides of the Nile near Wadilai, the differences being far less marked than those between two adjoining Bantu tribes usually are.

174 In all probability, therefore, the Jaluo originally formed one tribe with the Acholi. What their reasons for migration were cannot be ascertained, but probably it was due to overcrowding or to a dispute about the chieftaincy. The natives themselves can throw but little light on the matter: they state that they came from the north-west under one big chief and that when they *again* became too numerous they split up into smaller chieftaincies. The fact that they lay stress on their again increasing numbers points to the conclusion that overcrowding [626] was their motive for migrating; but as will be seen later, they use secession as their chief weapon against an unpopular chief. Had they been driven out by conquest there would be abundant traces of such a cause, but no such signs are visible.

142 In appearance the Jaluo are a fine race, not so much remarkable for beauty of face as for stature and development. They are a large-boned and deep-chested tribe, somewhat fleshy and very muscular. They present a great contrast in this last respect to the other Nilotic tribes in British East Africa, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa. All four are capable of great endurance, but none of the last three named can claim to be a muscular race. The superior physique of the Jaluo is probably [262] due mainly to their agricultural and industrial habits and to the fact that their food is mainly vegetable, while up to the great cattle plague of 1883, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa lived entirely upon animal food.

Facially the Kavirondo have rather squat noses, large mouths and big wide-opened eyes. The everyday dress of the men consists of a goat skin hung over the 291 right shoulder, or of nothing. In most cases they have quantities of iron wire on [301] their legs and arms and strings of beads round their necks. The women are usually completely nude, except that married women wear a small grass tassel behind, hanging from the waist; latterly, however, they have taken to wearing a strip of cloth round the waist about six or eight inches in breadth and only just meeting in front.

[581] The tassels are discarded when a woman's husband dies and cannot be again worn until she is re-married. It is significant of the respect which the Jaluo have

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towards marriage, that anyone who touches this tassel has to pay a fine of three goats to the husband.

The women do not wear iron wire to the same extent as their husbands and brothers. These may frequently be seen with from six to ten pieces wound round their arms and legs, which shine from constant rubbing and polishing with oil and fat. Happily there are signs that this wire is going out of fashion, whereby they will be spared the sores and ulcers which are its continual accompaniment. Trade generally will thus be put upon a sound cash basis instead of resting as it has done upon a precarious footing of barter. The Jaluo, who are keen traders, have begun to realise the advantages of the rupee over the iron, being helped to this conclusion by the necessity of having to pay three rupees a year for every hut.

The Jaluo full dress is very striking. A huge hat of monkey or goat skin, or of feathers, often of ostrich, surmounts a well-oiled visage which is ornamented by lines of small white beads across the forehead, nose, upper lip and chin and fastened behind the ear. Round the neck are strings of beads, brass cartridge cases, fetishes, and a round or two of iron wire. Across the chest and sometimes down the back are rows of cowries sewn on to strips of leather; and over the right shoulder hangs a big black feather boa, or an ornament made of the long hair from the wildebeest's tail. The everyday goat skin is discarded. Round the waist they fasten strings of iron beads which they manufacture from iron wire; the iron has an extra polish, and from it depend bunches of feathers. The body is well oiled and sometimes covered with red clay or charcoal. Finally they fasten to the knee and ankle small bells made of iron wire in the shape of broad-bean pods and with one or two small iron beads inside.

Their weapons consist of a spear with a long haft and a short blade, a Masai sword on the right hip and occasionally a bow and arrows instead of the spear. Their shields are very large and heavy, made of buffalo hide and of a peculiar shape; vertically they are about three feet six inches in height; horizontally nearly six feet in length and curved back so that the left side, back and front of the warrior are covered; they are painted red, white and black, often in artistic designs. These designs probably at one time indicated to what family the owner belonged; to-day, however, this idea, if it ever existed, seems to have quite disappeared, each man painting on his shield the pattern which pleases him most. Further investigation on this subject should be made in order to make certain whether the patterns have any peculiar meaning.

Some wear the hair long, twisting it into long thin strings and dressing it with oil and red clay or charcoal. Others partially shave the head, always leaving at least one little tuft, which is cut off and worn by the chief mourner at the owner's funeral. Sometimes the body is striped or spotted with yellow clay in imitation of the zebra or leopard.

Politically the Jaluo are in a semi-feudal state; the tribe is divided up into larger or smaller chieftaincies or clans, which correspond to the old baronies, but there is no one overlord to make the resemblance complete. Nominally the chiefs

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642 643 have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly [423] disregard the orders of their *quondam* superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A [166] man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

578 Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

423 621 [177] Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The Jaluo village represents a family, the headman being the father or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,[1] police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shamba*[1] or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

685 423 Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander into B's *shamba*, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambas* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim *in perpetuo*.

361 [343] In shape the Jaluo village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia bush, stone or mud walls, or watling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a small opening near the top sufficient to

[1] Swahili word adopted.

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allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

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583 chicken, some *mtama*[1] and some native beer. He goes away again, having had no
584 intercourse with his intended, and returns in a few days' time and goes through the form of carrying her off; she stops at his village for some days and the important rite of cooking the first dinner for him is gone through; this may be taken to intimate that she accepts him as her husband. She then goes home and the husband pays a portion of the dowry; he comes again and carries her away and pays another portion, and so on, till the dowry is paid off and the bargain is ratified. Should the woman prove childless, or if she dies shortly after the marriage, the dowry can be reclaimed by the husband, though it is more usual for her sister to take her place. Should she, at the time of marriage, be possessed of children, legitimate or otherwise, they become her husband's property. The dowry is also recoverable if the woman deserts him for another man.

Children are sometimes contracted for marriage at a very early age, but in such a case, the girl remains with her parents until the age of puberty. The value of the dowry has greatly decreased since the cattle plague of 1883, but is again increasing. Before that date twenty head of cattle, besides goats, grain, etc., was not uncommonly asked and obtained. To-day seven head of cattle is a handsome "dot," and the price has been known to fall as low as one bull and twenty goats, though a heifer and a bull is the usual minimum. The birth of the first child is
[852] also an occasion for a feast; frequently, a child is named after the hour at which it
551 was born, *e.g.*, *onyango*, morning; *oching*, noon; *odiambo*, afternoon; *otieno*, night. On other occasions some deceased relative appears to the mother in her sleep shortly before birth, and his name is adopted; or, if a child be born posthumously, the father's ghost appears and dictates the name. The Jaluo are very fond of nicknames, which are often passed on to descendants, though their significance is lost; *e.g.*, *obele*—the man who owned much *mtama*; *olieeh*—the man who killed an elephant. Other nicknames are given on account of some personal peculiarity; *e.g.*, *obonyo*—the man like a locust.

763 A funeral, however, is the greatest ceremony of all. While the sick man is dying his relatives howl in chorus round his hut, while the doctors rattle stones in gourds and puff clouds of tobacco smoke around the invalid, their object, undoubtedly, being to drive away the evil spirits. Next day there is a great dance,
764 at which all the deceased's relations and friends turn up; if the dead man is a chief the whole clan is represented. Every man is dressed in full war paint and brings his best bull along with him. For a while they stay in the village lamenting, while the mother or chief wife of the deceased adorns herself with the dead man's goat skin and his tuft of hair, as mentioned above, and then runs round and round the village rattling a gourd and singing incantations. Then the visitors come out, having refreshed the inner man with beer and tobacco, and proceed to charge up and down, hanging on to their bull's tails and pricking the unfortunate beasts to encourage them to go faster. When thoroughly exhausted they collect

[1] Millet.

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together again, and singly or in twos and threes run out and go through a fight with some invisible foes, again presumably, the evil spirits. They are very serious all the while, and the rest watch in silence their champions as they charge, retreat and cower down behind the huge shields. Then comes more feasting, with the customary offering to the sun, and finally they disperse. 764

The wailing is kept up in the case of a chief for six days, and performed twice a day at sunrise and sunset, but after the day of the dance each village mourns by itself; for a common person three days is the limit.

The corpse is buried in a recumbent position in the deceased's hut, but the hut continues to be occupied, generally by the deceased man's heir; it is not at once destroyed or disused, as some authorities, among them Sir C. Eliot, maintain. Last of all, when the mourning is over, an offering of beer, grain, and chicken flesh, is put on the grave.

The Jaluo religion is extremely slight. They worship the sun, and to a less extent the moon. They regard the sun as a deity seldom beneficent, more often malignant, and usually apathetic; as one of them said to the writer, "It does not matter how much you pray, you fall sick and die just the same." The offerings made at all important occasions in their daily life they make more with the idea of appeasing him than of obtaining positive benefits. 776 781 782

Witchcraft, however, and demonology occupy their minds far more. The wizard is greatly dreaded, and it is easy for an unscrupulous Kavirondo to obtain his neighbour's property by accusing him of having killed one of his relations by witchcraft, knowing that he will have his neighbours' support and sympathy. The wizard is sought both for good and evil purposes; his aid is invoked alike to detect criminals and to do harm to an adversary. In a recent case brought before the writer a man was accused of having murdered one of his wives by witchcraft. According to his accusers, the supposed murderer missed his razor and accused two of his wives of the theft. They both denied all knowledge of the missing article, and he gave them till the evening of that day to find it. When their term of grace came to an end, and the razor was not produced, he was alleged to have struck one of his wives, who was on the point of bearing a child. He then produced two charms which he affixed to their respective huts, threatening that the thief would be detected by the charm and would die. Next day the woman who was said to have been struck died after producing a still-born child. The curious result was that the man was tried for murder, the accusers believing that the crime had been committed by witchcraft, and the magistrate holding that, if the man caused his wife's death at all, it was by the blow which he was alleged to have given her. The blow turned out to be a myth, and the man was discharged, much to his accusers' disgust. 754 754 674

When a Kavirondo wishes to kill his enemy secretly, the usual method is to bury a dead rat or chicken at his victim's door. If, when the latter comes out the next morning, he treads on the spot where the animal is buried, it is believed that he will die that day. 754

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754 The evil eye, it is claimed, can make a sound man sick, and kill a man who is
755 ill, or an unborn child. Most diseases are attributed to the evil eye or to
757 malignant spirits, and so the best remedy is to make as much noise near the sick man as possible, in order to drive the evil ones away. In addition to this universal remedy, the Jaluo use a considerable variety of herbal medicines, and they are also expert at wet and dry cupping. Sometimes, however, the treatment is of a distinctly quack nature. Some time ago a native practitioner brought a case of assault against the husband of one of his patients. The defence set up was that the accused called in the prosecutor to treat his wife, and that the latter, after much cogitation, ordered the woman to climb to the roof of her hut and stay there till she was better. Unfortunately, the patient died under her open-air cure; her husband laid her death at the doctor's door and took steps to settle his account with the professor of healing arts, with a club. On another occasion the writer was summoned to an accident in the lime quarry in the district. One of the injured was suffering from a broken thigh and internal injuries. He put on a temporary splint, sent for the Indian apothecary, and gave orders that the patient was not to be moved in the "interim." Next day, however, the apothecary found,
[752] on arriving at the scene of the accident, that a Kavirondo surgeon had been called in; the latter was much puzzled by the complications of the case, and, in order to make a better diagnosis, cut the man open, with the not unnatural result that he died.

789 But, although the wizard is held in abhorrence and dread, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed: his success probably depends upon a knowledge of the signs of the heavens, but his methods are as follows: His village is to be found as a rule near a big tree, which he asserts is sacred; when rain is wanted he gathers some herbs and puts them in a large pot containing water, which he boils beneath the holy tree. Of the decoction thus prepared he draws off a little into a smaller pot, above which he squats on his haunches. Next a reed is produced, and through this the rain-maker draws up a little of the liquid and then squirts it forth into the air after blowing through the reed and causing the fluid in the pot to bubble; the whole process being punctuated by voluble mutterings and *abracadabra*. A reputation for uncanny powers, however, can be obtained even more easily than this, as the following anecdote will show. Some time ago, during the lesser rains, the natives of the valley in which the writer's station is situate, came and complained that a famous rain-maker was deflecting all the rain to the hills, so that the crops in the valley were dying. Would the Bwana (master) send a policeman and arrest the evil-doer? The Bwana did not see his way to such an arbitrary proceeding, but, being curious to see the wizard, scribbled a few crooked lines on a sheet of paper and told the applicants to show this to the rain-maker as a sign that the Bwana wished to speak with him. Next day they came back and said that the wizard had refused to come for the reason that the letter was not genuine but had emanated from an Indian shopkeeper; the writer told them to wait a few days, meaning to postpone the matter *sine die*. It so happened, however, that that evening a tremendous

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storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and hemp smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life.

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a sunken trawl line, in weirs, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen huntsmen, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an oribi or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl knocked down by their throwing sticks.

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband.

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein.

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression that they are cowards is ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-lauded Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arose in

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641 the time of their grandfathers are constantly brought for hearing, and the complications which ensue would bewilder the most legal mind.

153 The adaptability which they show in learning the lower stages of all kinds of work is a hopeful sign for the future. To the writer's knowledge they are now 463 employed as soldiers, sailors, police, masons, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, gardeners, and boys. In none of these occupations can they be said to excel at present, though at the head-quarters of the Kavirondo Province, Kisumu, the native sergeant instructor is a Jaluo and does his work very efficiently; but, on the other hand, it is only during the last four or five years' time that Kavirondo and the Jaluo have been taken seriously, and for this short time they show a great progress.

153 Combining as they do an undoubted industry and keen trading character with a surprising quickness to learn the lessons of civilisation, *e.g.*, their ready change from trade goods to cash in commercial matters or their almost immediate recognition of the advantages which may be gained by taking their disputes to the Station for settlement, the Jaluo give us every reason to hope that in them we have a valuable subject race, the study and consideration of which will in a very few years bring to the Protectorate Government a great and enduring profit.